627 ascertain the truth between two litigants. In two reported cases (SG 1227, 31 May, 1960:108-9), opponents settled a trial by cockfight. In much more demanding ordeals, two men in one of the houses surveyed undertook trial by submersion (selam ka ai') to settle a boundary dispute, the loser being the man who first fainted or emerged from the water. In another ordeal held in 1970 (and unreported), two men plunged their arms into a cauldron of hot water to seize stones (chelok batong) from the bottom, the man whose arm was unmarked being considered the party in the right.

621 [183] [195] Iban speech is thoroughly seasoned with expressions emphasizing the norms of cooperation and competition. While we must stress the autonomy of the bilik-family, yet in matters concerning the entire community the autonomy must be subjugated to the group decision. After the decision has been made through the community discussion (randau orang mayoh), [539] members are expected to accept and follow it. To betray the community is analogous to the story of the river fish (juak) which, having completed a non-aggression pact with the crane (ensulit), slyly bit off the leg of the ensulit when it came to the water to drink; hence, the expression used of betrayal of an agreement or community decision, aum juak.

621 183 Community solidarity and cooperation is to be valued more than success, according to the following proverbs:

[539]

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| Parai manok, anang bekutok. | The chicken has died, don't criticize. |
| Patah taji, anang bekelai, | The spur has broken, don't mark it. |
| Patah duku', anang bejako', | The knife broke, don't say anything. |
| Patah lungga', anang belaya. | The short knife broke, don't argue about it. |